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Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

4984th meeting

Monday, 7 June 2004, 4 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Adechi
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. de La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Romania	Mr. Motoc
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

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04-37788 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

Expression of condolences in connection with the death of the former President of the United States of America

The President: At the outset of this meeting, I should like, on behalf of the members of the Security Council, to express profound grief and sorrow at the death of His Excellency Mr. Ronald Reagan, the fortieth President of the United States of America. The members of the Council convey their condolences to Mrs. Nancy Reagan, to the bereaved family and to the Government and the people of the United States of America.

I now invite the members of the Council to rise and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of His Excellency Mr. Ronald Reagan.

The members of the Security Council observed a minute of silence.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, Special Adviser to the Secretary-General.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Brahimi to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, Special Adviser to the Secretary-General.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and invite him to take the floor.

The Secretary-General: The Council is meeting today to hear a formal briefing from my Special Adviser, Lakhdar Brahimi, on the process leading to the announcement of the Iraqi interim Government on 1 June 2004. I know that his assessment carries great weight with all Security Council members. But before he addresses the Council, I wanted to say a few words.

Since the outbreak of the Iraq crisis, the role of the United Nations has been difficult, often dangerous, hedged about with constraints and controversy. In order to understand the role played over the last few weeks by my Special Adviser, Lakhdar Brahimi, and his team, and by Carina Perelli and hers, it is important to set their efforts in a wider and longer perspective.

It is no secret that the events leading up to the war on Iraq, and developments since then, have been among the most divisive that the Council has had to deal with since the end of the Cold War. For many around the world, what was at stake was the way in which the international order and our system of collective security were being defined at the beginning of the new millennium.

Against that background of strongly held views on both sides of the argument, and sometimes bitter disagreement over the course of action that was chosen, it was inevitable that agreement on the role to be played by the United Nations in the aftermath of the war, especially in the political process, would also be elusive. Member States were able to agree that the Organization should play a vital or central role. But that role was never specifically defined. Moreover, the deadly attack on United Nations headquarters in Baghdad greatly reduced our capacity to act inside Iraq, and I was insistent that there must be some symmetry between the risks the United Nations was asked to accept and the substance of the role we were being called upon to play.

I find it extremely poignant that Lakhdar Brahimi and his team left Baghdad on 2 June, one year to the day after Sergio Vieira de Mello and his team arrived in Baghdad, on 2 June 2003. We all remember, so vividly and painfully, the bombing of the United Nations headquarters at the Canal Hotel in Baghdad, on 19 August 2003, which claimed the lives of some of our most talented and beloved staff, our wonderful friends, including Sergio himself, who was not only my Special Representative for Iraq but also the High Commissioner for Human Rights. That day brought to a virtual halt the on-the-ground — I emphasize on-the-ground — involvement of the United Nations in the

political process in Iraq. It has remained clear since then that any United Nations role in Iraq, political or otherwise, would face serious security constraints.

The Council should know that Iraqis of all persuasions fondly remember Sergio and the role he played, repeatedly calling him a true friend of their country. Not surprisingly, given the example he set during such a brief period, Iraqis were sincerely hoping that appropriate security conditions could be established soon, so that the United Nations could quickly resume, on the ground, a meaningful role in the political process.

The temporary relocation of our international staff from the country did not mean, however, that the United Nations had disengaged from Iraq's political process. On the contrary, from here at United Nations Headquarters, we intensified contacts with Governments around the world. Iraq was a constant agenda item in virtually all my meetings with Heads of State or Government, and Foreign Ministers. The primary message I gave them was the need for the occupation to be brought to an end as soon as possible and for Iraqis to regain control of their sovereignty, political destiny and natural resources. I therefore welcomed, as a critical first step, the setting of a date — 30 June 2004 — for the end of the occupation and the restoration of Iraqi sovereignty, as prescribed in the Political Agreement reached between the Coalition Provisional Authority and the Iraqi Governing Council on 15 November 2003.

Most Iraqis warmly welcomed the fact that a date had finally been set for the formation of a sovereign Iraqi Government, even if many felt that it was still not soon enough. At the same time, prominent figures representing key constituencies in Iraq were threatening to reject the outcome of the caucus-style method prescribed in the 15 November Agreement for selecting that Government. It looked as if there was a real risk that the political transition process might collapse only a few weeks after it was to have entered a new phase. A political crisis was looming.

Against that background, the President of the Iraqi Governing Council wrote to me at the end of December 2003. He asked the United Nations to help answer two specific questions: whether elections were feasible by 30 June 2004; and, if not, by what alternative means an interim government could be formed, to which sovereignty would be restored. At my invitation, a delegation of the Iraqi Governing Council, led by Mr. Adnan Pachachi, travelled to New York in January 2004 in order to reiterate and clarify that request in person.

Ambassador Paul Bremer, the Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority, as well as Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Prime Minister Blair's Personal Representative to Iraq, joined them to express their support for the re-engagement of the United Nations. Soon after that meeting at United Nations Headquarters in New York, on 19 January, I responded positively to the request for assistance, having been given strong assurances that, first , there was a clear role for the United Nations to play, and, secondly, everything possible would be done to provide security for the United Nations personnel engaged in the effort. My position then and now has remained, as I have indicated, that whatever role the United Nations undertakes should be proportionate to the risks we ask our staff to assume.

It is within that context that I asked my Special Adviser, Lakhdar Brahimi, to play a role in the political transition process. I was conscious that, while much of the work was technical in form, it was intensely political in nature. This meant that in addition to a technical assessment from the electoral experts, there was a need for skilful management of the complex political factors surrounding it.

I therefore asked Mr. Brahimi to visit Iraq from 6 to 13 February 2004, joined by a small political team — two of them are seated behind him today — and a group of electoral experts headed by Carina Perelli, Director of the Election Assistance Division in the Department of Political Affairs. During their trip, they met with hundreds of Iraqi groups and citizens, of all persuasions, from around the country, including prominent figures such as Grand Ayatollah al-Sistani. On 23 February, I presented a report of that fact-finding visit to the Security Council (S/2004/140, annex), with my full support for its observations and recommendations. Thus began the process leading to the formation of the interim Government, as well as to the preparation of elections to be held by January 2005.

I have asked Mr. Brahimi to recall for the Council the recommendations of the February fact-finding visit. For my part, I would like to state that the process that began on the basis of the fact-finding team's report has been completed on time and in full.

The role of the United Nations, through the good offices of Mr. Brahimi, was to help facilitate a process of national dialogue and consensus-building among Iraqis, leading to the formation of an Iraqi interim Government. Though its members are not elected, we have in place a capable and reasonably balanced interim Government, poised to take power by 30 June 2004. The United Nations was fully involved in facilitating consensus on its structure and composition.

This interim Government will now have the task of bringing the country together and of leading it effectively during the next seven months. The Iraqi people will judge it by its actions and results, particularly in helping stem the violence that continues to plague the country.

Iraq is not a failed State. I am confident that, through the talent of its people and the natural resources it enjoys, Iraq will soon be able to resume its rightful place among the family of nations. I appeal to the Security Council and to the international community at large, Iraq's neighbours in particular, to respond favourably and generously to the interim Government's request for assistance and support.

Mr. Brahimi and his team have also helped forge consensus on a Chairman for the committee that will prepare the national conference in early July. The Chairman is now in the process of finalizing the composition of the committee on the basis of recommendations he has received from the United Nations.

Finally, our electoral experts have worked diligently to help Iraqis lay the essential groundwork for elections. I am pleased to report that the establishment of the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq is complete, following a country-wide nomination process. Close to 2,000 nominations were received from all 18 governorates. Seven Iraqi commissioners and a National Electoral Director have been selected by the United Nations. Agreement has been reached on the legislative framework needed for elections, including the electoral system, political parties and representation, and criteria for voter registration.

All of us know that security remains the primary obstacle and constraint. I hope that, through our combined efforts, we can help promote a political process with credibility that has a positive impact on the overall security environment and reverses the logic of violence on all sides.

I should like to seize this opportunity to pay special and heartfelt tribute to my Special Adviser, Lakhdar Brahimi, to Ms. Carina Perelli, who is on her way back, and to each and every member of their respective teams, for working with such dedication to complete their mission, under exceptionally difficult and dangerous conditions. Their determination to help the people of Iraq is eloquent testimony to the idealism that continues to motivate so many of our staff around the world. I am grateful to the Iraqi and Coalition authorities for providing them with the necessary security during their stay in Iraq, both in Baghdad and on their travels inside the country.

The mission that has just been accomplished by Mr. Brahimi was a specific task that I had accepted at the request of both the Coalition Provisional Authority and the Governing Council. Also at their request, the United Nations is now engaged in supporting the preparation for the elections to be held by January 2005.

The draft resolution the Council is discussing addresses, among other things, the future role of the United Nations in Iraq. Let me reaffirm our readiness to do our utmost, as circumstances permit, to contribute to the restoration of peace and stability in a unified, sovereign and democratic Iraq. To that end, we look forward to a clear definition of our role and to the creation of all the conditions, including the provision of security for our staff and adequate resources, which would allow us to implement the mandate given us to the satisfaction of the Iraqi people and to the satisfaction of the Council and the United Nations membership.

The President: I now give the floor to the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi.

Mr. Brahimi: It is, as ever, a privilege to address the Security Council, and I am particularly honoured to be speaking under your presidency, Mr. Ambassador.

The Secretary-General has been far too kind and generous, and I thank him on behalf of my colleagues and on my own account for his confidence, his encouragement and his support. I am also deeply grateful for the assistance that the members of the Security Council have given us.

The Secretary-General mentioned that the process of forming the interim Government that is poised to take power in Iraq by 30 June did not begin in May, but much earlier. I hope the Council will permit me to describe that process in some detail, especially as concerns last month's events. The United Nations account of how the process has unfolded should be a matter of public record.

My own personal involvement commenced with the fact-finding team I was privileged to lead to Iraq in the beginning of February. During that visit, the first of three in total, my team and I began a process of consultations with Iraqi political parties, professional associations, trade unions, religious and tribal leaders, women's groups and youth movements, intellectuals and academics, amongst others.

It was on the basis of those consultations, in addition to those with the Coalition Provisional Authority and the Governing Council, that we formulated the observations and recommendations in the fact-finding team's report. That report, which the Secretary-General transmitted to the Security Council on 23 February (S/2004/140), made clear that there was an overwhelming desire on the part of Iraqis for an elected Government to take over from the Coalition Provisional Authority. But there was also an understanding that such a Government would not be viable if the elections held for it were not genuine and credible. Our technical assessment was that the conditions simply were not there for this to happen before 30 June. Eight months at the very least would be needed to organize a proper election from the time that an electoral authority and an electoral framework had been put in place.

Naturally, delaying the end of occupation was not an option. There was therefore no alternative but to accept that restoration of sovereignty by 30 June would be made to a non-elected Government.

What was the alternative to the caucus-style system that had been rejected? It was naturally not possible to present a preferred option from the United Nations. It was up to the people of Iraq to reflect on this question, free of the sometimes politically motivated rhetoric that had surrounded the debate on whether credible elections could be held by 30 June. This was not a time to hastily push through a solution, especially because, as we pointed out in the fact-finding team's report, the country was so divided.

The Council will recall that the Transitional Administrative Law was adopted by the Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority on 8 March 2004. Article 2(B)(1) of the Transitional Administrative Law stated that the interim Government to take power by 30 June would be

> "constituted in accordance with a process of extensive deliberations and consultations with cross-sections of the Iraqi people conducted by the Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority and possibly in consultation with the United Nations".

Then, in a letter to the Secretary-General dated 17 March 2004 (S/2004/225, annex II), the President of the Iraqi Governing Council reaffirmed that the Governing Council welcomed United Nations consultation in the national dialogue on the shape and scope of the interim Government. In a letter dated the same day, Ambassador Paul Bremer indicated to the Secretary-General his hope that my team and I would "return to Iraq ... to help build consensus among Iraqis on the powers, structure and composition of the interim Government and the process for its establishment" (S/2004/225, annex IV). The Secretary-General informed the Security Council the following day of the letters that he had received, as well as of his positive response to them.

Against that backdrop, my team and I returned to Iraq for a second time, from 4 to 15 April. On arrival, we found that some members of the Governing Council were arguing that continuity above all would be required to face the magnitude of the challenges that would persist through the next phase of the transition. For that reason, they favoured transferring sovereignty by 30 June to themselves or to an expanded version of their Council. On the other hand, our extensive consultations with people outside the Governing Council revealed a desire for a more pronounced change.

In the end, the Governing Council itself recognized that the 15 November 2003 agreement, as well as the Transitional Administrative Law, had called for its dissolution, along with that of the Coalition Provisional Authority, by 30 June. A consensus appeared to emerge on the formation of an interim Government composed of a President, two Vice-Presidents and a Cabinet of ministers headed by a Prime Minister. Outside of the Governing Council there

was a call for the Government to consist of honest and competent people who would effectively run the country for seven months or so while preparations for elections were being made. Once again, the people of Iraq, in all quarters, stressed that the elections were the most important milestone for them.

On 14 April, I informed the Iraqi public of the status of our work in progress at a joint press conference with the then President of the Governing Council, Mr. Massoud Barzani. After returning to New York for consultations with the Secretary-General, I briefed the Security Council in greater detail on 27 April. In that briefing, members will recall, I added that, ideally, those serving in the Government would choose, themselves, not to stand as candidates in the elections for the National Assembly that is to be elected by next January.

I also stressed that the formation of the interim Government alone would not be sufficient to help turn the tide of violence. Confidence-building measures would also be needed, in tandem, to address such controversial and divisive issues as the manner in which the new army would be formed, de-Baathification, and the issue of detainees and due process. Within this context, we suggested that a national conference be convened once sovereignty had been restored, in order to provide a forum for Iraqi men and women around the country to debate and hopefully to forge consensus on the challenges that they face for their immediate and long-term future. We also proposed that this conference, bringing together 1,000 to 1,500 people reflecting the diversity of the country, should select a smaller national council that could continue the discussions and advise the interim Government throughout its short tenure. In order for this national conference to be well prepared, we recommended that a diverse preparatory committee should be formed as quickly as possible.

A few days after I briefed the Council, my team and I departed again from New York, arriving in Baghdad on 1 May, for our third and final visit. Our immediate task was to gauge the reactions to the preliminary ideas that we had presented. After all, these were not ideas that we had come up with on our own, but rather were a reflection of what we heard Iraqis telling us. Did they believe that it was a faithful reflection? With the benefit of some time to think about the proposals, did they have additional views? If they were on board with the framework, what names did they see best matching up with the positions?

These are the questions we put to our interlocutors during this third visit as we resumed our consultations. What we found was that there was virtual consensus on the structure of the Government. It had the merit of simplicity while containing enough positions of real and symbolic importance to allow most, if not all key constituencies to feel represented.

There was debate, however, on two key issues. First, how was this Government to be selected? Secondly, to what extent should political parties be represented in it?

The idea that an Iraqi Government could be even partially selected by foreigners, understandably, did not sit well with some. On the other hand, many voices were heard demanding that the United Nations alone be involved in this exercise, without the participation of the CPA and the Governing Council. On both sides of this debate, it was argued that if sufficient time were not available for a credible national conference to be convened by 30 June, then we should take six weeks or so to bring together an even smaller round table of notable figures, who would be charged with selecting the interim Government.

Our concerns with this suggestion, however, were three-fold. First, if we left the formation of the Government until the eve of 30 June, then it would not have sufficient time to prepare to take power or the opportunity to engage in the discussions on the draft resolution now before the Council. Secondly, the choice of who should participate in the round table would be influenced by foreigners and would be no less controversial than the choice of the Government itself. Thirdly, if the round table failed to reach agreement on the composition of the Government by 30 June, then the termination of the occupation would be delayed. This would not be acceptable to anyone in Iraq.

At the end of the day, there was no getting away from the fact that the interim Government would not be elected. It would be an imperfect and ambiguous process of selection, and it would not be fair to the people of Iraq to pretend otherwise.

As concerns the participation of political parties in the interim Government, we discovered that the leaders of those parties were not alone in support of

their participation. Quite a few independent Iraqi figures argued in favour of it. They stressed that, by definition, any composition of the Iraqi Government selected through these means would be controversial. They added that the magnitude of the challenges the Government would face from the outset made it imperative for its composition to be as inclusive as possible. The interim Government could ill afford to start its work with influential opposition surrounding it on all sides. Inclusion thus meant the inclusion of the larger political parties as well, and there were plenty of highly competent professionals within their ranks. The key would be to ensure that the participation of political parties did not lead to rising sectarianism, the crowding out of competent independent candidates or the disproportionate influence of any one political party in the Government.

When the time came to start discussions on actual names, we proposed the idea of forming a working group comprised of the United Nations, the CPA and the Iraqi Governing Council. It would have been impractical to include all 24 members of the Governing Council in this working group. So, instead, we suggested working with a troika of the past, present and future Presidents of the Governing Council. They were Massoud Barzani, a Kurd; Ezzedine Selim, an Arab Shia; and Sheikh Ghazi Al-Yawer, an Arab Sunni. It was in that forum that we began to discuss formally the criteria for determining which names would be considered for the positions in the interim Government, including the post of prime minister.

That the CPA and the Governing Council would need to be formally included in the discussions was, of course, a foregone conclusion for us from the outset. After all, it was they who had requested the United Nations assistance and not the other way around. Furthermore, the CPA was running the country and the Governing Council had been officially recognized by the Security Council as the highest Iraqi institution in the country.

However, the CPA and the Governing Council members themselves recognized that they could not legitimately claim to speak for all Iraqis. It was for that reason, among others, that they called on the United Nations to assist in the process in the first place. Both parties accepted, therefore, that the United Nations would introduce into the discussions the views we had been hearing from Iraqis around the country.

To be sure, due to time and security constraints, we did not consult as visibly or as widely with a sufficient number of the many civic associations or the several hundred political parties that are said to exist. Nevertheless, we did meet, during our three visits, with thousands of Iraqis from around the country — many of whom travelled to Baghdad, Erbil, Mosul and Basra to see us — when we could not go to them. I sincerely apologize to all those who sought to see us and were unable to do so.

We made a particular effort to seek out the views of the extreme critics. We also tried to give a voice to those who had been relatively silent to date, including by their own choice. One of their concerns that we kept at the forefront of our minds during the working group's discussions was a desire to avoid the reinforcement of a purely sectarian mindset in the new Government.

This working group proved to be a reasonably effective forum for thrashing ideas out. Tragically, just one day after the working group had met in Erbil, Ezzedine Selim was assassinated in Baghdad on 17 May 2004. His death was not only a blow to the process, but a real loss for the country. He was a remarkably thoughtful and decent man who had no particular personal agenda other than to help move his country in the right direction. Soon thereafter, we invited Mr. Hamid Majid Moussa, Chairman of the Governing Council's Committee on the Transfer of Sovereignty, to replace Ezzedine Selim on the working group.

While we discussed options for different positions in the interim Government, people around the country, as well in the international community at large, were particularly focused on the prime minister. Our discussions in the working group, as well as with many groups outside of it, revealed difficulty, at first, in reaching consensus on any one particular name.

At the end of the day, the name that appeared to be gathering the most support within the Governing Council and the CPA, as well as with key communities, was that of Mr. Ayad Allawi. Though his political party is not religiously based, he maintains good relations with important religious figures. Though known for his attempts to overthrow the former regime, with outside help, he has in the past year been publicly critical of the CPA's approach to the de-baathification policy and the manner in which the former army was disbanded.

Though a Shia, he enjoys good relations with key Kurdish and Arab Sunni actors alike. His résumé understandably provokes controversy, but whose name, in connection with the post of prime minister, does not in today's Iraq?

The case of Mr. Hussein Shahrastani is a good example of how difficult it is to build consensus around anyone's name. Here was a brilliant scientist and head of a charity who spent 11 years in jail. He is secular, but a devout Muslim. He is close to religious leaders and he has been active and effective in providing aid and relief to the needy. Yet his name provoked strong opposition from almost all quarters, not least among those who later opposed strongly the selection of Mr. Ayad Allawi.

Be that as it may, we made it clear to the members of the working group that we were ready to respect the emerging consensus on Mr. Ayad Allawi's selection as prime minister and that we were ready to work with him in the selection of the cabinet. The list of the full Cabinet was finalized on Tuesday, 1 June, on the basis of the recommendations that we had formally handed over to Mr. Allawi.

Prior to describing to the Council the nature of the Cabinet, I should say a word about the manner in which the three-person Presidency Council was formed. Although some very difficult compromises and statesmanship were required on all sides, consensus eventually emerged on the choice of Mr. Ibrahim Jaafari and Mr. Rowsch Shaways as Deputy Presidents. Both men command a great deal of respect and enjoy popularity in their respective communities and beyond. As for the position of President, the field narrowed relatively quickly to two candidates: Mr. Adnan Pachachi, the former Foreign Minister of Iraq, and Sheikh Ghazi Mashal Ajil al-Yawer, who, as President of the Governing Council during the difficult month of May, earned the support and respect of his colleagues. In the end, Mr. Pachachi declined the position and Sheikh Ghazi became President. I am confident that the President and his two Deputies will demonstrate the leadership and the example of unity required to help bring the country together as we travel the difficult road ahead.

As for the Council of Ministers, it is full of promise. It includes some of the best-performing incumbents, such as Ms. Nasreen Berwari, Minister of Public Works, and Mehdi Al-Hafidh, Minister of Planning. They will help bring continuity to the work already started over the past year or so. But there are also many new faces, including the Ministers for Defence, Interior, Trade and Finance. Almost two thirds of the Cabinet is new, and only two former members of the Governing Council will be taking up Cabinet positions. The newly appointed Ministers include some of Iraq's most highly qualified and educated professionals. For example, few in Iraq can dispute the fact that the new Ministers of Oil, Health, Housing and Construction, Justice and Transport, among others, are among the most qualified people in their respective fields.

The Council of Ministers reflects to a large extent the rich regional, ethnic and religious diversity of the country. Very able Ministers from the Turkomen and Caldo-Assyrian communities are represented in the Cabinet. There are also new political figures in the Government from constituencies that had not been well represented on the Governing Council.

The Council of Ministers is composed largely of technocrats, although some of them are politically affiliated, as is often the case in many countries. I am also pleased to note that almost 20 per cent of the Council are women. Those women are known for their competence, their expertise and their dedication to the empowerment of women in public life.

Taken as a complete package, the interim Government has a great deal of talent and is well positioned to bring the country together during the next seven months or so. As Ayatollah al-Sistani recently said, it deserves to be given a fair chance and full support. At the same time, the Iraqi people will ultimately judge the interim Government on the basis of what it does.

The interim Government will need to start taking ownership of the solutions that must be found to the grave insecurity that continues to affect the country. Iraq will need an effective police force and a well-trained and professional army. Efforts to bring those about must be expedited. So, too, must the right legal, political and practical arrangements be worked out between the interim Government and any foreign forces that are sought to assist with the maintenance of security in the meantime. How that relationship is managed will greatly affect the interim Government's credibility in the eyes of the people.

In that context, it is encouraging to hear that the Prime Minister has reached agreement with the concerned parties for the dissolution of militias. That, as members may recall, was listed among the urgent confidence-building measures that we recommended after our second visit to Iraq. An equally important and urgent matter is the grave issue of the prisoners detained in the notorious Abu Ghraib detention centre and elsewhere. It would greatly help the new Government if that problem were to be completely solved even before 30 June.

We must also bear in mind that the majority of Iraqis with whom we met stressed that the problem of insecurity cannot be solved through military means alone. A political solution is required. The interim Government will need to lead the discussions on what that political solution should comprise. It will need to reach out to those who have been vocal critics of this past year's process and engage them in dialogue. It will need to resist the temptation to characterize all who have opposed the occupation as terrorists and "bitter-enders".

The National Conference provides an ideal opportunity to start that process of outreach and to build a genuinely national consensus on how to address the prevailing insecurity. Mr. Fouad Massoum will head the Committee that has been charged with preparing the National Conference, to be held in July. Mr. Massoum has already started to reflect on the composition of the Committee, drawing on numerous recommendations that my team and I have passed on.

During that process, I am sure that Mr. Massoum and his colleagues on the Preparatory Committee will recall that the Governing Council was established strictly on a quota basis, which was universally decried and rejected. Yet all wanted fair representation for their communities and groups. It was not possible at this stage to avoid reproducing the balance of the Governing Council in the interim Government. But everyone said that that should not be a precedent and that, in future, Iraq may well have a Kurdish President or an Arab Sunni Prime Minister or, indeed, that it may see those positions occupied by individuals from smaller communities.

We believe that the National Conference should not be convened on the basis of any quota system, although care should be taken to reflect the country's diversity. In that connection, I feel that I must convey the justified demand of the Turkomen to be recognized as the third-largest community in Iraq. Similar demands have been formulated by other, smaller communities. I believe that those legitimate demands should be heeded and that they can be accommodated in the forthcoming constitution.

In conclusion, as the Secretary-General said a moment ago, the United Nations has completed its task for this particular stage in full and on time. After a long, complicated and delicate process that took place under less- than-optimal conditions, Iraq now has two institutions that are essential for the next phase: an interim Government and a national Independent Electoral Commission. As Council members may have seen through the media, that Government is generally found to be acceptable by the Iraqi people. Some are more cautious, and in some quarters there may be stronger opposition, but the Iraqi people seem to be willing to give the Government a chance to prove itself. There should be no illusion, however. The days and weeks ahead will severely test this new Government, and the solutions to Iraq's current challenges will take years, not months, to overcome. On 30 June, Iraq will reach a new phase of the political process, not the end of that process.

The fact remains, however, that neither the interim Government nor the National Council that we expect to be chosen by the National Conference will be elected bodies. And only an elected Government and an elected legislature can legitimately claim to represent Iraq. All of the work that needs to be done now — especially with respect to security — must be focused on the objective of creating the conditions for genuine and credible elections to be held by January 2005.

In order to create the right conditions for elections, as well as to face the enormous challenges before them, the people of Iraq urgently need the help of the international community. Iraq needs the clear and united support of its neighbours. Iraq needs the generosity of its creditors. Iraq needs the patient, strong and sustained support of this body, the Security Council, and that of the United Nations as a whole.

The President: I thank Mr. Brahimi for his briefing.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I now invite Council

members to informal consultations to continue our discussion of the subject.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4985

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

4985th meeting

Monday, 7 June 2004, 7.45 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Benmehidi
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Adechi
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	France	Mr. de La Sablière
	Germany	Ms. Cadenbach
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. McKenzie Smith
	United States of America	Mr. Holliday

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

04-37857 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 7.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Iloka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council condemns with the utmost firmness the seizure of the town of Bukavu, on 2 June 2004, by dissident forces led by former Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD-Goma) commanders Major-General Laurent Nkunda, Colonel Jules Mutebusi and others. It also condemns atrocities and human right violations which have occurred in this context. It declares its profound concern regarding reports of military actions these forces have undertaken in other parts of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It considers all such actions to constitute a serious threat to the peace process and to the transition, and demands that these cease immediately.

"The Security Council reaffirms its commitment to and respect for the national sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and unity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It expresses its solidarity with the Congolese people and its full support to the Government of National Unity and Transition. It calls for the prompt and peaceful extension of State authority throughout the Congolese territory, in particular in Bukavu.

"The Security Council urges all parties represented in the Government of National Unity and Transition to remain fully committed to the peace process and to abstain from any action that could endanger the unity of the transitional Government.

"The Security Council warns solemnly the States neighbouring the Democratic Republic of the Congo of the consequences of support to the armed rebel groups. It urges the Government of Rwanda, taking into account its previous relationship with RCD-Goma, and all other neighbouring States to do all in their power to support the peace process and help secure a peaceful resolution to this crisis, while at the same time refraining from any action or declaration that might impact negatively on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It recalls the terms of its resolutions 1493 (2003) and 1533 (2004), especially those elements relating to regional security across the Great Lakes, and calls upon all member States, in particular those in the region, to fulfil their responsibilities accordingly.

"The Security Council welcomes the initiative of the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union aimed at overcoming the current crisis, including in its human dimension, and at facilitating the successful conclusion of the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

"The Security Council reiterates its full support to the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). It condemns the recent killing of three of its personnel. It calls on all Congolese parties to support the work of MONUC and demands that they refrain from any hostile action against the personnel or facilities of the United Nations."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2004/19.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4986

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

4986th meeting

Tuesday, 8 June 2004, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. de La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Romania	Mr. Boiangiu
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Holliday

Agenda

The situation in Cyprus

Report of the Secretary-General on his mission of good offices in Cyprus (S/2004/437)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

04-37926 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus

Report of the Secretary-General on his mission of good offices in Cyprus (S/2004/437)

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Alvaro de Soto, Under-Secretary-General and Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Cyprus.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. De Soto to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on his mission of good offices in Cyprus, document S/2004/437.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Alvaro de Soto, Under-Secretary-General and Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Cyprus. I now give him the floor.

Mr. De Soto: Thank you, Mr. President, for giving me the opportunity to say a few words by way of introduction of the Secretary-General's report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus, which is before the Council in document S/2004/437, dated 28 May 2004. I will be brief, since the report is largely self-explanatory.

As the report makes clear, the renewed effort that began on 10 February 2004 in New York and continued in Cyprus from 19 February to 22 March 2004 and in Switzerland from 24 to 29 March did not produce a settlement fully agreed between the parties. Therefore, as agreed between the parties with the support of Greece and Turkey, the Secretary-General finalized the plan on 31 March 2004.

The Foundation Agreement contained in the plan was submitted to separate simultaneous referenda on 24 April 2004. It was rejected on the Greek Cypriot side by a margin of three to one and approved on the Turkish Cypriot side by a margin of two to one. The plan, therefore, did not enter into force. The final opportunity to ensure that Cyprus should accede to the European Union as a united, rather than a divided, country has thus been missed.

Throughout the effort that began in late 1999, pursuant to Council resolution 1250 (1999), the goal has been to bring about a settlement through a decision of the people on each side. The people have at last decided for themselves. Their decision, on each side, must be respected.

While the ultimate outcome of the effort of the past four and a half years has not been a success, a great deal has nevertheless been achieved. Those achievements should be built upon, and a number of elements put in place, to keep alive the prospects of reconciliation and reunification in the future. The Security Council, which has so strongly backed the Secretary-General's efforts, has an important role to play in that regard.

The Secretary-General, for his part, has made a number of observations in the concluding sections of his report. He has made clear that, as long as the current stand-off — as described in paragraph 91 — remains, he does not see any basis for resuming his active good offices.

A broad and fundamental reassessment of the full range of United Nations peace activities in Cyprus — both good offices and peacekeeping — is timely. In his report on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/2004/427), he has therefore outlined his intention to conduct a review, to be completed within three months, of the mandate, force levels and concept of operations of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), in the light of the developments on the ground, the positions of the parties and any views the Security Council might have.

The Secretary-General has also indicated his hope that Greek Cypriots will reflect on the outcome of this process in the coming months. We need to better understand the reasons for their strong rejection of the plan — which was based on the vision of the Security Council as formulated over a quarter of a century — if future efforts are to have any hope of bearing fruit, and

we need to know how the Greek Cypriot side sees the way forward. In particular, we need to know if questions of security and implementation were, indeed, the main concern, and if so, what can be done by the Security Council to address them. The Secretary-General has encouraged the Council to stand ready to do so if those concerns can be articulated with clarity and finality.

I should like to take this opportunity to clarify the meaning of the sentence in paragraph 83 of the Secretary-General's report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus (S/2004/437), which reads: "What was rejected was the solution itself rather than a mere blueprint". The sole purpose of that sentence was to emphasize that what was rejected on 24 April was a comprehensive plan for a settlement, ready for implementation, with nothing further to be negotiated, rather than a mere framework or set of principles for future negotiations.

I should mention the fact that, late yesterday afternoon, the Secretary-General received from the Greek Cypriot side a letter outlining comments regarding the Secretary-General's report on his mission of good offices. I believe that has been conveyed also to members of the Council pending its circulation as an official document. It goes without saying that, given that it is a rather lengthy letter, we have not had time to study it, but, obviously, we stand ready to respond to questions that members of the Council might have in that regard, either here and now or in another forum.

The Secretary-General has also, in his report, welcomed the fact that the Turkish Cypriots, in approving the plan, have unequivocally signalled their commitment to reunification. This is more than a mere expression of goodwill for a solution to the Cyprus problem; the Turkish Cypriot people have clearly backed away from their search for a separate, sovereign statehood. This is a fundamental turnabout in the direction taken by the Turkish Cypriot side for more than two decades.

The Secretary-General has therefore recommended to the Council that it should encourage the Turkish Cypriots, and Turkey, to remain committed to that goal. The Secretary-General has called on the Council to give a strong lead to all States to cooperate, both bilaterally and in international bodies, to eliminate unnecessary restrictions and barriers that have the effect of isolating the Turkish Cypriots and impeding their development. The Secretary-General has chosen his words very carefully. The action that the Secretary-General recommends, I should emphasize, would be addressed to States. It is not meant to give State rights, State functions or State institutions to the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Its purpose would not be to afford recognition or assist secession, but, rather, to promote reunification and reconciliation. This is about assisting the people in the north of Cyprus.

I wish to acknowledge the extensive and consistent efforts of many Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to reunify Cyprus. These have to continue. Civil society must play its role, and, no doubt, the European Union will give such efforts its support, as should the United Nations.

I should also like to take this opportunity to reiterate the Secretary-General's praise for the efforts made by nearly 300 Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots involved in the technical discussions, without whom the settlement plan would not have been complete. He is also grateful for the assistance of a team of some 50 United Nations experts, many seconded by the European Commission and other Governments and institutions, notably Canada, the Netherlands, Germany, Luxembourg, Switzerland and the United States of America; and the European Central Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, as well as the United Nations Development Programme/ United Nations Office for Project Services and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

The President: I thank Mr. de Soto for his briefing.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 10.35 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.4987

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

4987th meeting

Tuesday, 8 June 2004, 4.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Adechi
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. de La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Romania	Mr. Motoc
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

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04-38068 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Iraq, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. al-Estrabadi (Iraq) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, at this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2004/461, which contains the text of a letter dated 7 June 2004 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2004/460, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Romania, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Angola, Benin, Brazil, Chile, China, France, Germany, Pakistan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: The draft resolution received 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1546 (2004).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Negroponte (United States of America): With today's vote we acknowledge an important milestone. By 30 June Iraq will reassert its sovereignty, a step forward on the path towards a democratically elected Government.

The unanimous passage of resolution 1546 (2004) is a vivid demonstration of broad international support for — and I quote from the text — "a federal, democratic, pluralist and unified Iraq, in which there is full respect for political and human rights".

Yesterday in this Chamber, Special Envoy Lakhdar Brahimi briefed the Council on the formation of Iraq's interim Government. The interim Government will pave the way for national elections for a transitional national assembly, to be held no later than January 2005.

Resolution 1546 (2004) defines the key political tasks in which the United Nations will play a leading and vital role to support Iraqi efforts. This resolution makes clear that Iraq's sovereignty will be undiluted and that the Government of Iraq will have the sovereign authority to request and to decline assistance, including in the security sector. The Government of Iraq will have the final say on the presence of the multinational force.

The resolution also addresses the current security reality and affirms the security structures and mechanisms warranted at this time. The annexed letters from Prime Minister Alawi and Secretary Powell describe the security partnership that is being put into place between the sovereign Government of Iraq and the multinational force.

The international community now has a renewed opportunity to help the people of Iraq and their sovereign Government. Undeterred by Saddam Hussein's legacy of many years of oppression and war, the Iraqi people are determined to create a new reality.

International assistance can and should enhance their prospects for success. The resolution calls on the international community to join those already helping the talented people of Iraq. Member States should not delay in matching advice with concrete assistance. As President Bush has said, "Free Iraq deserves the full support of the international community."

The constructive dialogue through which this text was developed and which led to the Council's unanimous vote today, should mark strengthened international resolve to work together for a democratic, secure and prosperous Iraq and for the lasting and permanent benefit of its people.

Sir Emyr Jones-Parry (United Kingdom): Today's resolution marks a defining moment for Iraq. The Security Council has powerfully endorsed the formation of a sovereign interim Government, which by 30 June will assume full responsibility and authority for governing Iraq. It is a crucial phase in Iraq's transition to full democracy. The resolution gives this Government the best possible start as it leads Iraq out of occupation and proves itself to the Iraqi people through its actions.

The promise is great: a stable, federal, democratic, pluralistic and unified Iraq in which there is full respect for human rights, a stark contrast to the past. Thanks to the tireless efforts of Lakhdar Brahimi and his team, the Iraqi people now have a competent, professional and broad-based Government that can help them realize that goal.

We appreciate the constructive discussions that have marked these negotiations and have contributed to the resolution unanimously adopted today. In particular, I want to underline the productive consultations with the incoming Iraqi interim Government. The people of Iraq were rightly our most important constituency.

The resolution makes an important contribution to Iraq's development. As well as endorsing the formation of the interim Government, it sets a clear path for the future political process, which will end with elections on the basis of a constitution approved by the Iraqi people. It gives the United Nations a leading role, as circumstances permit, to assist the Iraqi people in that process. It encourages the international community to assist Iraq's reconstruction, including by working towards a sustainable reduction of Iraq's debt burden. Also, on the basis of the Iraqi Government's request for the multinational force to remain in Iraq, the resolution authorizes its continued presence. The sovereign Government will be able to require a review of that multinational force or its termination. The resolution, including the annexed letters, also sets out the full partnership between the Iraqi Government and the multinational force.

That relationship between the Iraqi Government and the multinational force was undeniably the most complex issue in this negotiation. The resulting arrangements, stemming from discussion with the incoming interim Government, make clear that the Iraqi security forces, including armed forces, will be responsible to Iraqi ministers. An Iraqi-led forum will set the broad Iraqi security policy framework. National, regional and local coordination mechanisms will ensure unified command for those operations to which the Iraqi Government commits its troops. It will be for the Iraqi Government to make that commitment. The aim will be agreement on the full range of fundamental security and policy issues, including policy on sensitive operations.

The United Kingdom, as a member of the multinational force, stands ready to participate fully in these arrangements. We are committed to playing our part towards building security and stability in Iraq for as long as needed and as long as the Iraqi Government wishes. We are also determined to support Iraqi efforts to progressively take on responsibility for their own security.

The Iraqi Government and the Iraqi people will need our support as they take forward an inclusive political process, rebuild their economy and work to restore security, defeating those who would rather throw Iraq into violence and chaos. As Lakhdar Brahimi said yesterday:

> "Iraq needs the clear and united support of its neighbours. Iraq needs the generosity of its creditors. Iraq needs the patient, strong and sustained support of this body, the Security Council, and that of the United Nations as a whole" (S/PV.4984, p. 9).

I hope this resolution will mark not only the full reassertion of Iraqi sovereignty but also a renewed determination on the part of all members of the international community to assist the Iraqi people and Government as they work towards the successful future which they deserve.

Mr. Baali (Algeria): I will start my statement by paying a special and well-deserved tribute to my countryman Lakhdar Brahimi, without whom no resolution on Iraq would have been contemplated, let alone adopted.

The adoption of the resolution on Iraq constitutes an historic moment for the proud Iraqi people, who after thirty years of dictatorship and fifteen months of foreign occupation will, *inshallah*, recover, by 30 June, their independence, their sovereignty and their dignity. This resolution also marks a new chapter for the Iraqi people in their legitimate quest for stability, prosperity and democracy.

Yet the future remains loaded with dangers and uncertainties and the resolution we just adopted is not aimed at — or capable of — eliminating all uncertainties and all dangers. In fact, the challenges the Iraqi people are facing are formidable, and it is indeed up to them and to the Government that will lead the country until legitimate institutions are elected to make the political transition work and to make their dream of a free and democratic Iraq come true.

Until that day happens, and for it to happen, Iraq will have to work hard to create the necessary conditions for its people to live in peace and security, to put together a credible and self-reliant army to protect it from internal and external threats, to develop a genuine democratic process that would benefit all Iraqis, and to use the remarkable human and natural resources that make that country so unique to rebuild an economy ravaged by years of war, sanctions and neglect and to restore hope and confidence to the Iraqi people.

The most daunting and pressing priority for the leadership of Iraq will be, evidently, to do its utmost to reduce the level of violence and to bring peace and stability to the country. In this regard, I must emphasize that insecurity cannot be solved through military means alone and I would like therefore to join my voice to the appeal made by Mr. Brahimi yesterday to the Iraqi Government to reach out to those who have been vocal critics of the past year's process. In this context, the national conference constitutes the ideal forum to promote a meaningful dialogue and a true and national reconciliation and to build a strong consensus on Iraq's political future.

While not perfect, the resolution we have just adopted is undoubtedly the best we could get under the present circumstances and is indeed a well-balanced text which, among other things, manages to reconcile two extremes: the concept of the sovereignty of Iraq, which had to be totally restored and reasserted beyond any doubt or limitation, and the necessity of maintaining on Iraqi soil the presence of an effective and fully operational multinational force requested and invited by a Government-in-waiting that has not yet assumed its responsibilities and which, given the circumstances, had yet to make dramatic decisions.

My delegation is particularly grateful to the sponsors for having responded constructively and positively to four crucial demands that my delegation had put forward at the very beginning of the negotiations, namely, first, that full and undiminished sovereignty be restored to Iraq; secondly, that the Government of Iraq exercise full authority and responsibility in governing Iraq, including on security issues and over its financial and natural resources; thirdly, that all armed Iraqi and security forces be placed under the sole authority of the Iraqi Government; and, fourthly, that the consent of the Iraqi Government be required in respect to sensitive military operations carried out by the multinational force, as well as regarding the engagement of its own forces in multinational force operations.

Yet our task is not over. This is certainly the beginning of a long and perilous journey for the Iraqi people. There is also a long way to go for this Council, which has to remain fully engaged to ensure that the resolution it has unanimously adopted is properly implemented, that the will of the Iraqi people is fully respected, that the United Nations is fulfilling its leading mandate in optimal security conditions, and that the political transitional process which the Council has endorsed will indeed lead to a fully sovereign, free, stable and democratic Iraq — an Iraq at peace with itself and with its neighbours and capable once more of making history.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): Pakistan voted in favour of resolution 1546 (2004), which has just been adopted unanimously by the Security Council.

The people of Iraq suffered for decades under an oppressive regime, endured several wars initiated by that regime, was pauperised by prolonged international economic sanctions and then traumatized by another war. This resolution is designed, in our view, to prepare the way for Iraq to embark on a new era of security,

stability, peace and prosperity. It should mark a new beginning for Iraq and its people.

It is Pakistan's hope that the adoption of this resolution will enable the Iraqi people to fully regain their sovereignty and full control over their own destiny; promote security and stability in Iraq and preserve its unity and territorial integrity; and promote the reconstruction of its shattered economy and revive its potential for economic growth and prosperity.

The text of the resolution just adopted by the Security Council underwent substantial transformation before becoming acceptable to all the members of the Council, including Pakistan. We commend the sponsors for the flexibility they demonstrated in the negotiating process. We are glad that most of the suggestions for changes in the resolution proposed by Pakistan were accommodated in the draft by the sponsors. These included, first, the transfer of full authority and sovereignty to Iraq and full control by the Iraqi people of their natural resources; second, an affirmation of the independence, unity and territorial integrity of Iraq; third, respect for the primacy of the wishes and desires of the Iraqi people; fourth, Iraq's control of its own security forces, which will progressively assume full responsibility for its security; fifth, the presence of the multinational force at the request of the Iraqi Government and the creation of a coordination mechanism between the Iraqi Government and the multinational force on security policy and operations; sixth, adherence by all concerned to the principles of international humanitarian law; and seventh, respect for Iraq's cultural, archeological and religious shrines, which are among the most sacred in the Islamic world.

The resolution affirms that the United Nations must play a leading role in promoting the implementation of the processes envisaged therein. The Secretary-General has indeed remained personally engaged in the diplomatic and humanitarian efforts of the United Nations, even after 17 August 2003. The endeavours of Mr. Brahimi have been outstanding and he has again performed a most difficult diplomatic feat in difficult circumstances.

We view this resolution as the most significant step since the first Gulf War towards the full normalization of the situation in Iraq. It endorses the presence of the multinational force at this time as a means of restoring peace and security in Iraq. It indicates a timetable for establishing an elected Government and a programme to end the mandate of the multinational force. However, the security environment in Iraq remains volatile and unstable. We must all trust and hope that, following the transfer of sovereignty, the security environment will improve significantly.

As indicated by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, the problem of insecurity cannot be solved through military means alone. Political solutions and accommodations are required to achieve security and stability in that country. We hope that the interim Government will benefit from the international support expressed through this resolution to broaden political consensus in the country and to make all necessary efforts — as Mr. Brahimi has remarked — to bring all groups under the tent. We also hope that all Iraqis will respond to the efforts of the interim Government to broaden the political consensus and stabilize the security environment in their country.

Peace and stability in Iraq will no doubt reinforce stability in the region. Continued instability in Iraq, on the other hand, is likely to have an adverse impact on the security environment of the region as a whole and beyond. As a regional State, Pakistan looks forward to an Iraq at peace with itself and with its neighbours. We believe that the support of Iraq's immediate neighbours and of the Arab and Islamic countries for Iraq's security and stability will be an important component in realizing the political, security and economic goals set out in this resolution.

In a recent telephone call he received from Prime Minister Allawi, President Musharraf congratulated him and assured him of Pakistan's full support and cooperation in the reconstruction of Iraq. We fully support the aspirations of the Iraqi people. We are prepared to help them realize those aspirations in accordance with their national priorities and in accordance with their freely expressed wishes.

Mr. Wang Guangya (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): Today is an important day for the people of Iraq and for the United Nations. Resolution 1546 (2004), which the Security Council has just adopted unanimously, is a milestone marking the end of the past and the beginning of the future. It will prove to be a historic turning point in the Iraqi political process and turns a new page in the relationship between the United Nations and Iraq. It will help promote stability and

development in Iraq and will further strengthen the authority and the role of the Security Council.

The people of Iraq are industrious and talented, and they have made brilliant contributions to human civilization. But for more than a decade they have suffered from the misery of war, sanctions and turbulence. They yearn for democracy, peace and a new life, under restored sovereignty. There is no doubt that the resolution the Security Council has adopted today lays the foundation for the early fulfilment of those aspirations of the Iraqi people. The resolution endorses the formation of the interim Government of Iraq, reaffirms the right of the Iraqi people freely to determine their own political future and to exercise control over their financial and natural resources, and reaffirms the principle of Iraq's reassertion of full sovereignty. It demonstrates the commitment of the international community to assist in the completion of the Iraqi political process.

With the adoption of this resolution, we look forward to 30 June, when the Iraqi people will reassert full sovereignty and when Iraq will return to the family of nations. We sincerely hope that, with broad support from the Iraqi people and with the unstinting help of the international community, the Iraqi interim Government, in keeping with its obligations, will expeditiously take measures to stabilize the security situation, promote national reconciliation and hold free and fair elections on schedule. We are convinced that, with the end of the occupation and the transfer of sovereignty, the great Iraqi people will make unremitting efforts to overcome all obstacles in their way, return as soon as possible to their path to peace, democracy and development and make new contributions to regional peace and stability and to the advancement of civilization.

For more than 10 years, Iraq has been a constant focus of Security Council attention. The Council has adopted more than 70 resolutions on that question. In the process of reaching an appropriate settlement of the question of Iraq, there have been times of close cooperation, as well as times of deep division among Council members. We are pleased that the Security Council stands unified once again in response to the appeals of the Iraqi people. The present resolution is the result of joint efforts by all Council members, who actively participated in the consultations and searched for consensus in a constructive spirit and with a pragmatic and cooperative approach.

China is gratified that many proposals offered by members of the Council, including China, were taken into account in the final text of the resolution — which, in giving expression to the principles of Iraqi sovereignty and of the need for the people of Iraq to manage their own affairs, is a significant improvement on previous versions. Moreover, the resolution will transform the relationship between the United Nations and Iraq into one between partners with shared objectives. Iraq will resume its place in the United Nations on an equal footing. For its part, the United Nations will continue to make ever greater contributions to the Iraqi people. I take this opportunity to thank Secretary-General Annan, Ambassador Brahimi and all the other United Nations staff members who have worked assiduously to that end.

The debate on the question of Iraq and the way it has been handled over the past year may have helped us understand that, in the current complex international situation, the resolution of major international issues requires collective wisdom, enhanced international cooperation and a role for the United Nations and the Security Council. That is an imperative of history and of reality, and it is the international community's only viable option.

The Government and the people of China have always closely followed developments in the Iraqi situation. We have always advocated the maintenance of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Iraq and an appropriate resolution of the question of Iraq on the basis of Security Council resolutions and through political means. The hearts of the peoples of China and Iraq have always been joined together. We deeply sympathize with the people of Iraq with regard to the suffering they have experienced as a result of sanctions and war, and we have provided them with assistance to the best of our ability.

As always, the Chinese Government will firmly support the political process and the major role of the United Nations, pursuant to the resolutions of the Security Council. China looks forward to friendly cooperation on all fronts with the Iraqi interim Government and with the future elected Government. We stand ready to participate actively in Iraq's economic reconstruction, and to contribute to the building of a better Iraq.

Resolution 1546 (2004) marks a new beginning both for the Security Council and for Iraq. There is no

denying that implementation of the resolution will be fraught with difficulties and challenges. The task facing the Iraqi interim Government is demanding and the road ahead is long. But China believes that, so long as all parties put the Iraqi people's interests first and truly respect Iraq's assumption and exercise of full power, implementation of the resolution will undoubtedly help improve the security situation in Iraq, advance the Iraqi political process and promote post-war reconstruction in Iraq.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): France voted in favour of resolution 1546 (2004), which the Council has just adopted unanimously. My country approached the discussion of this resolution with three goals for the Iraqi people and for the United Nations: first, to ensure that after 30 June the Iraqi interim Government will have all the attributes of sovereignty and complete authority to govern the country, in spite of the need to maintain a very large foreign military presence; secondly, to give the Iraqi people credible assurances that the political process is continuing and that the presence of foreign troops is temporary and limited in time, in order to clarify the political outlook of the Iraqi people and to assure them that the coming transition period will end as soon as possible; and, finally, to entrust to the United Nations a mandate which guarantees the credibility of the Organization and which is realistic in the light of what it can do in the present circumstances in Iraq.

The first two elements are, in our opinion, essential for the Iraqis to support the current political process and for them have confidence in the new Iraqi Government. The third enables the role of the United Nations in the settlement of crises to be preserved and, to the extent possible, ensures the security of those who will act on behalf of the Organization in the field.

From the first informal consultations in the Security Council, France had emphasized the importance it attached to the mandate that the Council would entrust to the United Nations and to the legal framework for the action of the multinational force. On the first point, the aim was to allow the Iraqis to take maximum advantage of United Nations expertise in extending the activities of Mr. Brahimi and Ms. Perelli — to whom we pay tribute — while taking the security conditions into account. On the second point, the aim was to take into account the change resulting from the restoration of Iraqi sovereignty to retool the mandate of the multinational force while spelling it out clearly within the framework of international law.

Throughout the negotiations, France was both demanding, because the stakes are considerable, and constructive, because we believe that the unity of the international community is needed more than ever before. On many points, the final text meets the demands sought in the French and German proposed amendments. Accordingly, first of all, the interim Iraqi Government will have complete responsibility and authority to govern the country. Several provisions of the draft resolution were adjusted to comply with that principle, particularly those on the control of the Iraqi armed forces and security forces, the coordination of international aid, the use of the country's natural resources and the conditions for making foreign advisers available.

Secondly, the various stages of the political process are endorsed by the resolution, particularly the timetable for elections and for the end of the transition, no later than the end of 2005. We already know that the organization of the national conference planned for July by Mr. Brahimi and, above all, the holding of the elections no later than in January 2005 will be crucial. Those elections must be organized freely and democratically and must permit all Iraqis to vote. In that context, we are pleased that the future interim Iraqi Government will continue to enjoy the support of the United Nations within the framework of the clear mandate, adapted to circumstances, provided for in the resolution.

Thirdly, the sovereign Government may at any time ask that the mandate of the multinational force be revised or that it end, and such a request will be binding on the Security Council. Moreover, the mandate is limited in time: it will be re-examined within 12 months, and in all likelihood it will end at the end of the political transition, whose expiration date — 31 December 2005 — is explicitly mentioned. Until then, the multinational force and the Iraqi forces must act in accordance with international law, particularly the law of armed conflict.

Finally, the resolution states clearly that, from this point on, the Iraqi armed forces and security forces will not be part of the multinational force. They are to be placed under the sole authority of the Iraqi Government, which will have to decide whether to

commit them — if it deems it necessary or desirable to do so — to multinational force operations.

France had insisted on those last two points so that the relationship between the interim Government and the multinational force would reflect the sovereignty that the Iraqi interim Government will have after 1 July. We note that our wishes have been largely taken into account, for which we thank the sponsors.

However, with regard to the implementation of the multinational force's mandate — particularly the conditions of engagement in the event of sensitive offensive operations — the resolution indicates that the interim Government and the multinational force will have to reach an agreement, but it does not specify what would happen in the event of disagreement. That is why France would have preferred that the text state that the Iraqi interim Government, sovereign in the territory of Iraq, would have the final say in such a case. As that provision was not explicitly requested by the Iraqi leaders, France was satisfied at the final adjustment made to paragraph 11 of the provision. Moreover, France cannot imagine that the multinational force would go against the opinion of Iraq's sovereign Government.

With regard to the aid that regional organizations might provide to the stabilization of Iraq, France would like the decision-making autonomy of such organizations to be preserved within their own executive bodies. A member of several regional organizations itself, France will make a decision, if it is necessary, when the time comes. Furthermore, it is natural, as the text says, that the agreement of the Iraqi Government be sought.

All in all, today the Security Council has assumed its share of responsibility. It has done so by taking into account the demands presented by the Iraqi interim Government, within the limits the Government had set for them. It will be up to that Government — which we hope will succeed and with which we are prepared to work — to win the Iraqi people's confidence through its capacity to govern fully in complete independence. That is our wish, for the stability of Iraq and of the region depends on it.

Mr. Pleuger (Germany): Permit me at the outset to pay special tribute to the tireless efforts of Lakhdar Brahimi and his team. Their idealism and their political skills have been instrumental in the formation of the new interim Government of Iraq.

Germany welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 1546 (2004). As a result of proposals and amendments made by various Security Council members — including the French and German amendments, which have to a large extent been included in the resolution — and as a result of suggestions made by the Iraqi side, and thanks to the sponsors' constructive and flexible approach in the course of the negotiations, the text was substantially improved throughout the negotiation process.

Germany supports this resolution as an important step towards the restoration of the full sovereignty of the Iraqi interim Government in all relevant areas and towards Iraqi ownership. In particular, we do so in view of the clarifications with regard to the security partnership between the interim Government of Iraq and the multinational force, as spelled out in the body of the resolution and in the letters of Prime Minister Allawi and of Secretary of State Powell addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is now of crucial importance that the resolution be implemented in Iraq with unequivocal respect for the full sovereignty of Iraq. Regional and international support for the Iraqi people is also essential. It is in that spirit that Germany stands ready to cooperate with the new Iraqi authorities in order to assist the people of Iraq in the political and economic reconstruction of their country.

Mr. Konuzin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Today, the Security Council has adopted a new resolution on Iraq that will become an important milestone in that country's history. The Russian Federation supported the adoption of this resolution in the light of our commitment to a prompt political settlement of the situation in Iraq under United Nations auspices and in order to normalize the situation in the entire region. During the complex process of negotiating a text and in the intense diplomatic contacts, we managed to work out a decision culminating in the cessation of Iraq's military occupation and the transfer of full sovereignty from the coalition authorities to the Iraqi interim Government. Now we have the prospect of enhancing the contribution of the United Nations in promoting organized civilian life and in developing the political process in Iraq on a democratic basis.

The resolution unequivocally confirms the right of the Iraqi people to determine their own political future and to control their national resources. The interim Government is endowed with full sovereignty on matters of governance, including command over its national army and its police.

We welcome the inclusion in the resolution of provisions in support of reintegrating opposition elements into Iraqi society and of the need for all parties to comply with international humanitarian and human rights norms. It is important that there be a specific timeline for the political process. National elections are scheduled to take place in Iraq by January 2005, following which a sovereign Transitional Government will be formed.

International and regional assistance is of key significance to the restoration process in Iraq. Given the importance of lending legitimacy to Transitional Government structures in Iraq, Russia, prior to the adoption of this resolution, suggested that an international conference be convened, with the participation of all influential Iraqi political forces, neighbouring States and members of the Security Council.

Our proposal is still valid. We call on the leadership of Iraq to take a very serious look at the possibility of convening this type of meeting. It was an important principle that all provisions of the resolution should be adopted on the basis of relevant requests made by the interim Government, in particular concerning the deployment in the country of the multinational force and international assistance for the political process, with the United Nations playing a leading role.

Under the resolution, the United Nations must meet some serious challenges in Iraq. The Organization must play an important role, for example, in providing assistance to the new Iraqi authorities in the run-up to the elections and in the drafting of a permanent constitution.

Of course, the United Nations can meet the challenges in that country only if an adequate level of security is provided. One of the key elements in this resolution is an agreement on the mandate of the multinational forces remaining in Iraq at the request of the interim Government. The mandate of those forces is clearly linked to the political tasks of the transitional period, and the length of their stay in the country could be reduced upon the request of the Iraqi leadership. It is clearly articulated that their presence in the country is at the request of the interim Government of Iraq and that their function is to provide security during the transitional period.

It is important that a coordination mechanism be developed between the new Iraqi leadership and the command of the multinational force that will not infringe on the sovereignty of the interim Government. We believe that, as set forth in the letters from United States Secretary of State Powell and from the Prime Minister of the interim Government of Iraq, Mr. Allawi, all the work of the multinational force should be done with the agreement of the sovereign Iraqi authorities.

The resolution calls for quarterly reports from the United States, on behalf of the multinational force, in conjunction with reports from the Secretary-General, which will ensure ongoing oversight by the Security Council over the process of political settlement and restoration in Iraq.

The resolution confirms the need for a final clarification of issues related to proscribed Iraqi military programmes. Given the fact that the problem of weapons of mass destruction was the reason for starting the war against Iraq, it cannot be left unattended. We expect that, in the very near future, the Security Council will begin work on adapting the mandates of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission and of the International Atomic Energy Agency to these new conditions. We hope that the interim Government will actively cooperate with the international inspection machinery.

The Security Council has also endowed the interim Government with economic sovereignty within the transitional period. In that context, we would like to emphasize the need to ensure a transparent and equitable approach to the use of monies from the Development Fund for Iraq as well as strict compliance by all parties with their obligations under prioritized contracts, within the framework of the former humanitarian programme of the United Nations.

Russia is continuing, in the current difficult situation, to provide assistance for the rehabilitation of the Iraqi economy, and we firmly intend to continue to develop our economic cooperation with that country. We take note of the statements made by influential

Iraqi leaders as well as by countries of the region in support of the interim Government.

We believe that the Government will have an opportunity to realize the hopes held for it both inside and outside Iraq. Additionally, it is clear to us that only time will tell if the adoption of this resolution will help to achieve a turnaround in Iraq. The interim Government will need to prove its ability to govern the country independently and to establish a genuinely representative political process. In that respect, much will depend on whether the Iraqis themselves sense a real transition from a military occupation to a restoration of sovereignty and whether the interim Government can win the trust of the people and enlist the support of the international community, including Iraq's neighbours.

This consensual resolution brings the question of Iraq back into the political field of the United Nations. It will help to ensure that the efforts of the international community are pooled with a view to achieving a real settlement of the situation in Iraq, which remains an open wound in the Middle East and in world politics in general.

It is our firm belief that the key to resolving this problem lies in the collective efforts of States throughout the world. The Iraqi situation has made clear the universal and irreplaceable nature of the United Nations, which epitomizes international legitimacy. The task of organizing our joint efforts under United Nations auspices by advancing international relations is therefore more urgent now than ever before.

Mr. Muñoz (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): The resolution just adopted is of historic importance for the future of Iraq. It marks the end of the occupation of that country and the beginning of a stage during which the Iraqis can once again take control of their political destiny, their natural resources and their sovereignty.

No negotiation can produce perfect results. This is the best possible resolution given current circumstances. I should like to express appreciation to the sponsors for the transparency that characterized the negotiating process, as well as for the continued openness to dialogue on the part of the delegations of the United States and the United Kingdom and for the constructive attitude taken by all members of the Council. My delegation is particularly pleased with the joint work done with the delegations of Brazil and Spain on certain proposed amendments that were jointly formulated and that were included in the text of the resolution.

The position of the Government of Chile with respect to the Iraq crisis has been coherent and pragmatic. The primary objective of our action in the Council following the military action has been, first, to help meet the humanitarian assistance needs of the people and, secondly, to put a speedy end to the military occupation and to establish a democratic and representative Government in a climate of stability and security that is conducive to the development and well-being of the Iraqi people.

This resolution is the theoretical and normative foundation of a new phase in Iraq. We will have to wait to see how that is translated, in practice, into a sovereign Government that can build a future based on the well-being of its people.

Violence will not automatically end in Iraq with this resolution or when the interim Government of Iraq takes power on 30 June. The peace-building process, which will be difficult, will be strengthened by the democratic election of its authorities in January 2005 and the full implementation of the timetable of the political process.

In the draft resolution that we have adopted we have tried to reflect as well as possible the full and effective transfer of sovereignty and authority to the interim Government of Iraq. At the same time, we support the institutional timetable, which will enable the holding of free, open and informed elections in order to have a fully legitimate and representative Government.

We welcome the incorporation of meaningful reference to international humanitarian law in the resolution, a subject on which my delegation has always insisted. We are satisfied with the agreement achieved to establish a security partnership between the Government of Iraq and the multinational force, with appropriate consultations on sensitive military operations and through which the Iraqi authorities will have effective control over their armed forces and security forces, which was a substantive item of my delegation's position.

We are aware of the limitations of the security situation prevailing on the ground and therefore of the need to authorize, for a limited period and at the

request of the sovereign Government of Iraq, the presence of a multinational force, which, with the Iraqi armed forces and security forces, will enable the establishment of a secure and stable environment.

Because we believe in the international multilateral system, we have also advocated that the United Nations have, in the resolution, a leadership role in the process of Iraqi political and institutional reconstruction, as well as in other areas as the situation allows. We believe that this resolution establishes with the necessary clarity the central responsibilities that the United Nations will have to assume in Iraq. Some of those responsibilities have already begun to be fulfilled on the ground through the excellent work of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, and the Director of the Electoral Assistance Division, Ms. Carina Perelli. The United Nations is once again at the focal point of assistance to Iraq, following a period of lack of understanding and division.

I would like to conclude by referring to a remarkably important fact — the unity of the Security Council. As the Secretary-General said yesterday in this Chamber, the Iraqi crisis represented for the international system one of the greatest conflicts since the end of the cold war, causing diverging opinions and varying views on how to resolve the problems being analysed. However, today, with the adoption of this resolution through the unanimous vote of the members of the Security Council, there is palpable evidence of the existing unity to achieve the best efforts that, we hope, will contribute to establishing a free, prosperous and democratic Iraq at peace with its neighbours and itself.

Mr. Yáñez Barnuevo (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): Spain has voted in favour of Security Council resolution 1546 (2004), thus joining the consensus expressed by the members of the Council. The Spanish delegation has cooperated actively in the formation of that consensus, offering ideas and contributions to the process of drafting the text of the resolution together with other delegations, particularly those of Brazil and Chile.

For us, this is certainly not about the ideal resolution. Actually, Spain would have wanted the United Nations to have assumed guidance of the political and military process in Iraq and that it would have been possible to accelerate even more the political transition in Iraq to a fully normalized situation.

In any case, today an opportunity has opened up, one that we should all make use of. Thanks in great measure to the efforts of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General, Mr. Brahimi, on 1 July 2004 the interim Government of Iraq will regain the exercise of sovereignty, which, in keeping with the text of the resolution that we just adopted, should be understood in the broadest way possible — full authority to take all decisions considered relevant to all areas of governance.

In that spirit, my Government declares its willingness to cooperate with the new Iraqi Government. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain, Miguel Angel Moratinos, recently stated, "Spain will not remain indifferent to the present and future of Iraq, which will have our full support to ensure a united, stable, secure, democratic and prosperous Iraq". The Government will continue to firmly support the stability, democratization, territorial integrity and reconstruction of Iraq. In keeping with that principle, it will support activities, be they of the United Nations, the European Union or others, that offer a framework for international cooperation that contributes to the Iraqis recovering their full sovereignty, enables them to organize their elections freely and democratically and allow them to build their own future in peace, independence and security.

Spain has been promoting a more ambitious role for the United Nations in Iraq. The United Nations will continue its performance, essentially in complementing the political process, supporting preparations to hold a national conference and assisting the Independent Electoral Commission, as well as the interim and transitional Governments, in the preparation of the electoral processes. My Government believes that United Nations activities in Iraq must effectively help in the political transition process, which should include recognition of a clear and defined temporary time period to conclude its activities.

A fundamental aspect of the resolution that we have just adopted is related to the security architecture, referred to also in the letters addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Prime Minister of Iraq, Mr. Allawi, and by the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Powell. I would like to make a few brief comments in that regard.

My Government hopes that the agreements concluded from now on in the area of security between the interim Government and the multinational force will fully respect Iraqi sovereignty and will faithfully reflect the principle of authority that should govern the relationship between that Government and its armed forces and security forces. It also hopes that agreements will be reached soon on an operation policy that will enable the interim Government to affirm its authority in sensitive cases, so that its due control over the political process is maintained at all times. We also hope that in that context of authority and the exercise of sovereignty, the interim Government — with the assistance that each instance might require, including from the United Nations — will promote a national reconciliation process in which today's dissident elements will be gradually integrated and will be able to contribute to Iraq's stability and thus to that of the region.

Spain has always upheld the importance of the role played by the countries of the region in the process of fully reintegrating Iraq into the international community. Because of that, it has supported that the references made to the region in the text of the resolution be balanced, so that its special responsibility and the positive current and future contributions to the Iraqi reconstruction process are recognized. Spain also considers positive the idea of convening a future international conference on Iraq when deemed appropriate by the Iraqi Government.

In the economic field, my delegation believes that the resolution appropriately notes that the funds in the Development Fund for Iraq shall be disbursed at the discretion of the interim Government. This is a fundamental component of what we mean by full exercise of sovereignty. Moreover, the resolution extends the existence of the International Advisory and Monitoring Board. This would involve maintaining a structure that would shore up Iraq's economic credibility, and in which the interim Government of Iraq is appropriately represented.

With regard to humanitarian issues, Spain is pleased that the preambular part of the resolution notes the commitment of all forces to act in accordance with international law, including humanitarian law, and to cooperate with relevant international organizations. Spain would have liked this provision, which appeals to all parties to observe and ensure respect for such humanitarian principles, to have been included in the operative part of the resolution as well.

As members know, Spain has attached particular importance to the Security Council receiving periodic reports — quarterly if possible — from the multinational force as well as the reports submitted to the Council by the Secretary-General. We welcome the fact that the resolution has reflected that proposal.

We also deem it to be of great importance that the resolution, as requested by Spain and other members of the Council, sets 31 December 2005 as the deadline for the completion of the transitional political process and, therefore, the end of the presence of the multinational force. Spain considers that that force's presence in Iraq should be for as limited a time as possible.

Finally, we would like to thank the sponsors for the flexibility and willingness they demonstrated throughout the process of negotiating the resolution. We would also like to thank the other members of the Council for their constructive contributions and you, Mr. President, for having brought these difficult negotiations to a successful conclusion within such a short period of time.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): The resolution unanimously adopted today by the Security Council marks the end of the occupation of Iraq and the reassertion of all prerogatives of full sovereignty by the interim Government that will take office by 30 June.

Brazil participated in a constructive spirit in the negotiating process that led to the adoption of today's resolution, because we kept in mind the importance of the Security Council's decisions for the evolving situation on the ground in Iraq, and also their great relevance in terms of the expectations of the international community for the multilateral work of the Organization in general and of the Security Council in particular. Our overriding objective was to make this resolution a good one.

In that endeavour, together with Chile and Spain, Brazil presented a number of amendments to the draft text originally submitted by the sponsors. Those amendments were aimed mainly at sharpening the text of the draft resolution and at clarifying the nature of the situation it would create by establishing a new political and legal reality.

Among other points, Brazil has striven to stress the following: the transfer of full sovereignty and

authority to the interim Government; establishing the United Nations as a partner of the Government of Iraq in the provision of assistance to that Government; giving the United Nations a leading role in carrying out its tasks; emphasizing the importance of fulfilling international obligations in the area of human rights and humanitarian law; clearly establishing Iraqi control over the country's security forces, including its armed forces; differentiating between the circumstances of the presence of the multinational force in Iraq before and after the end of the occupation on 30 June, by clearly defining the scope of the presence of the multinational force and the reach of its mandate as regards security.

During the negotiations, the delegation of Brazil supported important proposals that were put forward by other members, and we are glad that many of them are reflected in the resolution we adopted today. I would also like to express my delegation's satisfaction with the flexibility shown by the original sponsors of the resolution, particularly in these last days as the consultation exercise was intensified.

The end result is not the best outcome conceivable, as many have said, in particular as regards the security arrangements involving the interim Government of Iraq, the multinational force and the protection force for the United Nations. However, in practical terms, as Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi described the political process he helped advance, this resolution is possibly the best outcome of the negotiating process, given the circumstances.

Mr. Motoc (Romania): What is now resolution 1546 (2004) was worked out in numerous meetings and lengthy discussions of the Security Council. We have the sponsors and all our other colleagues to thank for this outcome. This is also a good time to commend Secretary-General Kofi Annan and his Special Adviser, Lakhdar Brahimi, for the leadership and skilled diplomacy they have shown in a context that was not only exceptionally challenging but also, in many respects, uncharted territory.

Romania supported and sponsored resolution 1546 (2004) for three reasons. First, it is in our national interest to see that our selfless contribution to maintaining stability in Iraq and to shouldering the work of the country's political and institutional reconstruction is duly recognized and that it continues to be founded on the solid basis of a clear and workable United Nations mandate, backed by the wishes and requests of the Iraqi people and their representatives. The Romanian delegation pursued with particular resolve the goals of the Security Council, working out, through this resolution, an essential role for the United Nations in fostering the political processes ahead of us in Iraq and of further mobilizing the support of the international community for the bright, democratic, stable, independent and prosperous future that Iraqis have so truly deserved for such a long time. Romania is a part of the multinational force, but also shares with many other countries the task of preparing the future Iraqi security forces, in the expectation that they will soon take over, in the spirit of the resolution.

The second reason for our sponsorship of resolution 1546 (2004) has to do with the kind of approach followed by the Security Council in order to properly reflect the transfer of full and genuine sovereignty to the interim Iraqi Government and to chart the way for future political processes in Iraq. This approach amounted to constructive, genuine teamwork by Council members. Indeed, I do not know of any delegation that was not involved by contributing valuable proposals, suggestions and ideas for bettering this seminal text. I think that what we saw developing in the Security Council regarding this important topic was effective multilateralism in action.

We are satisfied that we achieved the main goals we set for our work. First, the resolution reflects the genuine and complete transfer of sovereignty into Iraqi hands on 30 June. Secondly, it provides for a leading role for the United Nations in Iraq. Thirdly, it articulates a workable partnership arrangement for the multinational force and the interim Government of Iraq to handle security challenges. Fourthly, what is now Security Council resolution 1546 (2004) has met with complete consensus, not only inside the Security Council, but also outside its realm, reaching out to all relevant stakeholders.

We have just come from the meeting convened by the Secretary-General with the Friends of Iraq. We have been encouraged by the appreciation expressed by States of the region and contributing countries for the ongoing stabilization and reconstruction efforts in Iraq.

With the transfer of sovereignty in Iraq on 30 June, an important historic step will be taken towards the completion of the political transition there. At the same time, Romania will assume the functions of

President of the Security Council. In addition to what have already undertaken in support of the aspirations to freedom and prosperity of the Iraqi people, Romania will stand ready in that capacity to assist in the process opening up ahead for the Iraqis and their many friends around the world.

Mr. Gaspar Martins (Angola): Angola voted in favour of the resolution and we are proud to be part of the consensus reached within the Security Council in adopting that seminal text. This was a wish that we expressed from the very beginning of our consultations. With this, we have done justice to the validity and vitality of multilateralism. When things looked so dark in Iraq, the United Nations played the role that only it could play — a vital and unifying role. We are poised to emerge from the crisis with a stronger United Nations ready to act in providing the answers when needed.

Today's resolution clearly provides for the partnership of Iraqis and the international community. Angola proudly commends the Secretary-General for the wisdom and leadership he has once again demonstrated. Angola is proud to praise the statesmanship and self-reliance of Lakhdar Brahimi, as well as his ability to listen to Iraqis and so faithfully to translate their messages to the international community.

Resolution 1546 (2004), which we have just adopted, represents a clear departure from earlier Security Council resolutions 1483 (2003) and 1511 (2003). We are indeed grateful to the sponsors for their willingness to respond to the concerns raised during the consultations. Indeed, the spirit of give and take which characterized our negotiations resulted in a better and clearer resolution, and also a stronger Security Council.

Resolution 1546 (2004) provides for the restoration of full sovereignty to Iraq, based on its independence and unity; the right of the Iraqi people freely to determine their own political future and to control over their natural resources; the need for the continued presence of a multinational force, in partnership with the Iraqi authorities and in full respect for their sovereignty; and a clear role for and the importance of the United Nations in the political process, including beyond the elections.

The continued support of the international community, and especially of the neighbouring countries, is critical to helping the Iraqi people to meet the challenges ahead. Today's resolution stresses that important point, and Lakhdar Brahimi, in his wisdom, reinforces and reminds us of the importance of this support. We are confident that the Iraqi people will emerge from the democratic process with renewed strength to tackle the key national challenges: the consolidation of peace and stability, long-term national reconciliation and economic recovery.

Mr. Adechi (Benin) (*spoke in French*): Resolution 1546 (2004), which we have just adopted unanimously, paves the way for the effective restoration of Iraqi sovereignty, as called for in the timetable for the political process. We welcome the positive developments in the negotiations that led to the adoption of the resolution, which establishes a normative framework for the end of the occupation, the restoration of the full sovereignty of Iraq and the conditions in which the multinational force will undertake its work in that country. We commend the open-mindedness shown by the sponsors of the resolution throughout the negotiations.

We believe that it is now up to the new Government of Iraq to assume its responsibilities by ensuring that the established machinery works adequately. We call on it to strive to win the trust of all Iraqis so as to involve as many of them as possible in the political process and thereby ensure that the elections of January 2005 enjoy all the necessary credibility. We also emphasize the importance of the methodical organization of the national conference, which must be held in a spirit of national reconciliation. In that respect, it can make an important contribution to ensuring the inclusiveness of the political process.

Finally, we urgently appeal to the international community to provide all the necessary assistance to the people of Iraq in order to help them meet the challenges they are facing. The neighbouring countries should also fully shoulder their responsibilities in the context of the joint efforts necessary to stabilizing the situation on the ground. It is in their interests that the situation in Iraq be normalized as soon as possible.

The President: I shall now make a brief statement in my capacity as representative of the Philippines.

Yesterday, we were divided on Iraq. Today, we are united on Iraq. It is a great day, therefore, for Iraq, the Security Council, the United Nations and the international community. The Philippines is

particularly pleased that this eloquent expression of unity on Iraq has happened during our presidency. In many significant ways, the resolution just adopted validates the Philippine position of unwavering support for a free, democratic, pluralistic and united Iraq.

We can congratulate ourselves on the house we have built for Iraq. We built it with transparency and inclusiveness, which led to the unanimous adoption of the important resolution. The foundations of a lasting edifice are in the resolution: the transfer of full sovereignty come 30 June; the leading role of the United Nations in assisting in the political process towards a constitutional Government; and Iraq's ownership of its security policies, financial and natural resources and other attributes of sovereignty.

The challenge now for Iraq and the international community is to translate into action what is laid down in the resolution and to nurture its plan of action on the ground. We are confident that, given the atmosphere of accommodation and understanding in the Council and the interest and concern which this resolution has elicited from a great number of States, this challenge can be met with success. We are happy to have been part of the negotiation of the historic resolution 1546 (2004) and to have voted in its favour.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4988

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

4988th meeting

Friday, 11 June 2004, 12 noon

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Adechi
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	France	Mr. de La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Romania	Mr. Motoc
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Report of the Secretary-General on the Sudan (S/2004/453)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

04-38516 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Report of the Secretary-General on the Sudan (S/2004/453)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Sudan, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Hassan (Sudan) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the Sudan, document S/2004/453. Members of the Council also have before them document S/2004/473, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Angola, Benin, Brazil, Chile, China, France, Germany, Pakistan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: The draft resolution received 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1547 (2004).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): The Security Council, in this vote, has demonstrated its unanimous support for the Naivasha peace process and for the statesmanlike role carried out by the parties. We very much look forward to seeing further progress and to that process coming to a successful conclusion. It is right that the United Nations should put itself in a position where it is able to give every support to that process and to support the Government of the Sudan in its efforts to bring an end to a conflict that has run for a very long period.

So, progress, a special political mission and a readiness to consider a peace support operation are absolutely right at this stage. But, too, it is right that, in adopting this resolution, we should look to see similar progress throughout the Sudan, we should reinforce again the efforts of the Government of that country, which is responsible throughout the country for the well-being of its citizens, and we should pay particular attention to the situation in Darfur and ensure that all of us and the humanitarian agencies play our part to avert any humanitarian catastrophe in that area.

Mr. Trautwein (Germany): Germany welcomes the United Nations commitment to supporting the implementation of a future north-south peace agreement for the Sudan, which is highlighted in the resolution the Council has just adopted unanimously. This agreement, when truly implemented, will offer the possibility of finding an end to this long-lasting conflict, which has cost so many lives.

While there has been significant progress in the comprehensive Sudanese peace process, which the text of this resolution explicitly recognizes, a lasting peaceful settlement for the whole of the Sudan will be possible only when all the conflicts in the countries have been resolved. That includes an end to the sweeping and widespread human rights violations in the conflict regions in the Sudan.

The Secretary-General's report (S/2004/453), which the Council expressly welcomed today with the resolution at hand, clearly refers to that fact. In that

context, Germany expresses its support for the plan of action for the protection of human rights in Darfur presented by the Acting High Commissioner for Human Rights. We believed that it was indispensable that this overall context of the conflict should also be appropriately reflected in the resolution, and we therefore welcome the reference in the text of the resolution to the presidential statement of 25 May (S/PRST/2004/18), which directly addresses the conflicts in Darfur and in the western Upper Nile. We call upon the parties to the conflict to meet their obligations arising from the N'Djamena peace agreement.

Mr. Cunningham (United States of America): I would just like to draw the attention of Council members to the statement issued yesterday by the leaders of the Group of Eight, in which they warmly welcomed the 26 May signing by the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement of protocols on power-sharing, on Abyei, and on the two areas of the Southern Blue Nile and the Nuba Mountains. They urged the parties to reach a final and comprehensive agreement that includes a timetable and security arrangements as quickly as possible, and hoped that that agreement and its faithful implementation will end one of the world's most painful conflicts and begin a new era of Sudanese peace and prosperity.

They also expressed their grave concern over the humanitarian, human rights and political crisis in Darfur. They welcomed the N'Djamena ceasefire agreement of 8 April and the announcement on 20 May by the Government of the Sudan that restrictions on humanitarian access will be eased. However, there are continuing reports of gross violations of human rights, many with an ethnic dimension. They called on parties to the conflict to immediately and fully respect the ceasefire, allow unimpeded humanitarian access to all those in need and create the conditions for the displaced to return safely to their homes. They called especially on the Sudanese Government to disarm immediately the Janjaweed and other armed groups which are responsible for massive human rights violations in Darfur. They called on the conflict parties to address the roots of the Darfur conflict and to seek a political solution.

They also supported the African Union as it assumes the leading role in the monitoring mission which is now being sent to the Darfur region to supervise the ceasefire agreement. They pledged their countries' assistance in ending the conflicts in Sudan and in providing humanitarian aid to those in need, and called on all parties to the conflicts in Sudan to commit themselves to respecting the right of all Sudanese to live in peace and dignity. They concluded by looking to the United Nations to lead the international effort to avert a major disaster and to work together to achieve that end.

Mr. Baali (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): My delegation welcomes the recent conclusion in Naivasha, Kenya, of the three protocols to agreements that, along with those reached over the past two years, now pave the way to a peaceful settlement of the conflict that has gone on too long in the southern Sudan.

While we welcome the efforts undertaken by the parties to the conflict and the regional and international mediators, which may lead to a restoration of lasting peace in the southern Sudan following the dashing of many earlier hopes, my delegation remains aware of the fragility of the process under way, the challenges confronting it, and the danger that it may be knocked off track at any moment. As the Secretary-General very clearly indicates in his report, the parties to the conflict and the international community must display unshakeable will and steadfast resolve if we are to bring the peace process in the southern Sudan to a conclusion.

In order to thwart all those who would wish the process to fail in pursuit of their objectives and to avoid the various potential obstacles, significant human, financial and material means must be mobilized, keeping in mind the geographical, political, social and economic constraints. Such are the challenges to the implementation of the agreement protocols already concluded and of an eventual comprehensive agreement. At this critical phase, therefore, my delegation would call for a mobilization of resources and a focusing of energy to accompany the peace process in the southern Sudan so as to avert any possibility of failure.

Without denying the importance of challenges in other regions in the immense territory of the Sudan, which also deserve a comparable mobilization effort and the full attention of the international community and of the Sudanese parties involved, my delegation should have liked the resolution to guarantee ongoing

international mobilization to accompany the peace process under way in the southern Sudan.

In that spirit, my delegation fully endorses the Secretary-General's recommendations, particularly those pertaining to the deployment of an advance team, with the prospect of establishing a United Nations operation after the conclusion of a comprehensive peace agreement in the southern Sudan.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): The civil war that has afflicted the Sudan for the larger part of its independent history is most unfortunate. Its consequences have been severe for the people of the country and for the region.

Pakistan welcomes the progress made towards a negotiated and mutually acceptable settlement of the conflict. We welcome the engagement of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, the African Union and the international community in helping the parties move forward towards peace. Pakistan especially welcomes the commitment of the United Nations to supporting the peace process.

The main objective of the resolution we have just adopted is to welcome the recent progress in the Naivasha process and to enable the deployment of a United Nations advance team in the Sudan to prepare for the introduction of a United Nations operation intended to support the implementation of a comprehensive peace agreement to be signed by the parties. The cooperation of the parties is and will remain vital for the implementation of any peace agreement. It will be important, therefore, to keep the Government of the Sudan fully and constructively engaged in the process.

The resolution refers to the problems in the Darfur and Upper Nile regions of the Sudan. In Darfur, there is a humanitarian crisis initiated by an armed rebellion and escalated by the response. What is important now is for the international community to respond generously to this humanitarian crisis. This response has been disappointing so far. Therefore, we welcome the reference in the resolution to the need for extensive funding in support of peace in the Sudan.

The Sudan is an important member of the African Union, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the United Nations. As a United Nations Member State, the Sudan has all the rights and privileges incumbent under the United Nations Charter, including to sovereignty, political independence, unity and territorial integrity — the principles that form the basis of international relations. Long-term peace and stability and the unity of the Sudan are in the interests not only of its own people, but also of the international community. This should be the central objective of the Security Council.

Finally, in closing let me say that it should be a matter of principle that a country concerned in any issue under discussion by the Security Council or the subject of a resolution should have the right to participate and to speak in the Council's meetings. We have extended that right to other countries and we should not have denied it in this case.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4989

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

4989th meeting

Friday, 11 June 2004, 12.50 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Adechi
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	France	Mrs. D'Achon
	Germany	Ms. Cadenbach
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Romania	Mr. Motoc
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation in Cyprus

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/2004/427)

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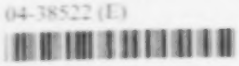
04-38522 (E)



The meeting was called to order at 12.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/2004/427)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus, contained in document S/2004/427.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2004/484, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it.

I should like to inform the Council that, in my capacity as President of the Council, I have met with the representatives of the parties, who have confirmed to me that they maintain their well-known positions vis-à-vis the item on the Council's agenda. On the basis of those meetings, as President, with the consent of the members of the Council, I have drawn the conclusion that the Council can proceed to take a decision on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Angola, Benin, Brazil, Chile, China, France, Germany, Pakistan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1548 (2004).

I shall now give the floor to those members who wish to make statements following the voting.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom welcomes the unanimous adoption of this resolution to extend the mandate of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). It is undeniable that the situation in Cyprus has evolved, not only since the referenda of 24 April but also over the 40 years that this operation has been on the island. We therefore support the Secretary-General's decision to conduct a comprehensive review of UNFICYP's role and to make recommendations in that regard. We look forward to early consideration of those recommendations by the Security Council with a view to tailoring UNFICYP to reflect current requirements.

The successful conclusion of the Council's deliberations on UNFICYP today will now allow the Council to turn its attention to consideration of the Secretary-General's report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus (S/2004/437), which the United Kingdom has welcomed.

Mr. Cunningham (United States of America): Recent significant developments in Cyprus, including the results of the referenda on the Secretary-General's peace plan and the entry of Cyprus into the European Union, have fundamentally changed the situation in Cyprus and necessitate a critical examination of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and of the need for the UNFICYP mission. We welcome the Secretary-General's commitment to provide recommendations on UNFICYP's mandate, size and concept of operations within three months. We also look forward to recommendations regarding future funding of UNFICYP.

The United States voted in favour of this resolution because it articulates a timeline by which the Council will act upon those recommendations. It should be clear that the appropriate action for the Council will be to adopt a new mandate for UNFICYP in the light of the Secretary-General's recommendations. Resources for peacekeeping operations are under strain, as the demand for United Nations peacekeeping has risen significantly in recent years. The Council must be willing to review ongoing peacekeeping operations to make changes as required by new circumstances in order to be a responsible steward of peacekeeping resources and to sustain support for new peacekeeping operations.

This resolution also addresses remaining restrictions on UNFICYP's operations by Turkish and Turkish Cypriot forces. We regret that, owing to the results of the referenda — specifically, the Greek Cypriot rejection of the United Nations plan — the territorial transfer envisioned to occur under the plan has not been realized. That would have resulted in the peaceful transfer of areas in which UNFICYP has dealt with, and must continue to deal with, violations of the military status quo, such as in Strovilia.

I would also like to take this opportunity to say a few words regarding the Secretary-General's report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus (S/2004/437). We regret the results of the 24 April referenda on the United Nations settlement plan, which represent a missed historic opportunity for peace. We deeply appreciate the even-handed work of the Secretary-General and of his Special Adviser, Alvaro de Soto, in the search for peace on Cyprus, and we welcome and support the Secretary-General's objective, balanced and accurate report.

We wholeheartedly support the conclusions and recommendations contained in that report. We agree with the report's conclusion that the rejection of the Secretary-General's settlement plan by the Greek Cypriot electorate raises fundamental questions regarding their commitment to a bizonal, bicommunal federal solution of the Cyprus problem. We support both the report's suggestion that Greek Cypriots may wish to reflect on that matter and the conclusion that, if they remain committed to such a solution, that needs to be demonstrated not just by words, but by action.

We agree with the report that the way ahead to a settlement is for the Greek Cypriots to articulate, with clarity and finality, concerns that they have indicated regarding implementation of the settlement plan and its security provisions. Only when they have been articulated can such concerns be addressed by the Secretary-General and by the Security Council, where we stand willing to play a constructive role.

We support the report's assessment that Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots have done everything possible to reach a Cyprus settlement. We share the Secretary-General's appreciation for the efforts of Turkish Cypriot community leader Talat, both in the talks and in the run-up to the referenda. As the report says, the Turkish Government gave strong support to the Secretary-General's efforts to reach a solution. Prime Minister Erdoğan kept his commitment to be one step ahead in the efforts for a solution, and in fact it was the change of policy engineered by the Government of Turkey that made this year's peace effort possible.

With the Secretary-General, we appreciate Greece's support for his efforts, including specifically for his final settlement plan as well.

As the report states, Turkish Cypriots have, with their "yes" vote on 24 April, clearly and convincingly come out in favour of the reunification of Cyprus in a bicommunal, bizonal federation. We support the Secretary-General's recommendation in paragraph 93 of the report that members of the Security Council should encourage the Turkish Cypriots and Turkey to remain committed to the goal of reunification. We agree that, to that end — and not for the purpose of affording recognition or assisting secession — the Security Council should give a strong lead to all States to cooperate, both bilaterally and in international bodies, to eliminate unnecessary restrictions and barriers that have the effect of isolating Turkish Cypriots and impeding their development. We concur with the Secretary-General's assessment that such a move is consistent with Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984).

We look forward to strong Security Council action in support of the Secretary-General and the recommendations contained in his report.

Mr. Maquieira (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): Following the Secretary-General's recommendation, we voted in favour of a six-month extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). We await with interest the results of the announced review of UNFICYP's mandate to be carried out by the Secretary-General.

Finally, we call upon the parties to maintain their commitment to the objective of reunification. We believe that any measure that facilitates reunification deserves our support. From that perspective, we consider it valid to adopt measures to narrow the development gap between the parties. Such measures must conform to the provisions of Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984), and, as the Secretary-General indicates in his report (S/2004/437), they must not have the objective of recognizing another State on Cyprus or of facilitating secession.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): Pakistan voted in favour of resolution 1548 (2004), which authorizes an extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for six months. However, we supported the resolution with serious reservations.

This resolution was supposed to be a proposal for a technical extension of UNFICYP for a short period of time that would enable the Secretary-General and the Security Council to undertake a review of its mandate, force size and concept of operations in the light of the new circumstances. That is natural following the recent rejection of the Secretary-General's compromise plan for a comprehensive Cyprus settlement and bearing in mind the positions of the concerned parties. Thus, in our view, UNFICYP's mandate should have been extended for only three months to enable that review to take place, rather than for the six months endorsed in the resolution.

Moreover, the inclusion of operative paragraph 3 in the resolution changed it from a procedural to a substantive proposition. The reference in this paragraph could have been balanced by inclusion of language that was suggested by another delegation in our informal consultations. The resolution also should have incorporated a reference to the report of the Secretary-General on his good-offices mission, which was introduced by his Special Adviser, Mr. Alvaro de Soto, on 8 June.

In April this year, after decades of hostility on the island, the referendums on the Secretary-General's plan for the reunification of Cyprus offered the hope for a permanent settlement of the Cyprus problem. Unfortunately, the plan was rejected by the Greek Cypriot side, while it was accepted by the Turkish Cypriot side.

The Secretary-General considers it a historic opportunity that has been missed. That view is widely shared by the international community. The Secretary-General believes that the rejection of his plan is a major setback which will cast a dark shadow of uncertainty over the implementation of a number of issues so dear to the hearts of so many Cypriots, including the question of the reunification of the island.

In paragraph 83 of the report on his good-offices mission, the Secretary-General states:

> "Benefits for the Greek Cypriots, which have been sought for decades — including the reunification of Cyprus, the return of a large swathe of territory, the return of most displaced persons to their homes ... the withdrawal of all troops not permitted by international treaties ... have been forgone. The result is the maintenance of the status quo — a status quo deemed unacceptable by the Security Council."

In paragraph 93 of the report, the Secretary-General said:

> "I would hope they [the members of the Council] can give a strong lead to all States to cooperate both bilaterally and in international bodies to eliminate unnecessary restrictions and barriers that have the effect of isolating the Turkish Cypriots and impeding their development, deeming such a move as consistent with Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984)."

The Security Council will, we hope, soon endorse this recommendation of the Secretary-General and urge actions by the international community to take concrete steps to end the economic isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community, which has been penalized for so many years and is now unable to enjoy the benefits of European Union membership accorded to their Greek Cypriot compatriots.

In the circumstances, and pending the Council's decision on the Secretary-General's good-offices report, the Security Council should have taken a position that was more even-handed in the resolution we adopted today. A provision to welcome the Secretary-General's good-offices report would have been one way to indicate such even-handedness. Unfortunately, even this suggestion was not accommodated in the text.

We can only hope that the resolution we have just adopted will not prove to be counterproductive and that it will not generate a further sense of injustice among the Turkish Cypriot community. The Security Council should act to strengthen the hand of the Secretary-General in any future move to implement his plan and help to bring us closer to the resolution of the Cyprus issue on the basis of a bicommunal, bizonal federation reflecting the wishes and interests of both the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot communities.

Mr. Baali (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution on the question of Cyprus because it is a response to the request made by the Government of Cyprus that the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) be maintained on the island beyond 15 June 2004.

My delegation would have preferred that, as was agreed beforehand, the draft resolution be a purely technical text. Clearly, that is not quite the case, as has just been noted by my colleague from Pakistan.

My delegation hopes that the Security Council will consider the report of the Secretary-General on his mission of good offices, including the recommendations contained therein.

Mr. Motoc (Romania): My delegation voted in favour of the resolution, since, as recommended by the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), after consultations with both sides and the guarantor powers, and in the absence of a comprehensive settlement, the presence of UNFICYP on the island continues to be necessary.

We welcome the intention of the Secretary-General to conduct a review of UNFICYP's mandate, force levels and concept of operations. We believe that, in the current conditions, a comprehensive review of the scope of the United Nations Mission in Cyprus is required.

UNFICYP's review is an inextricable part of the way forward for Cyprus, as also noted in the Secretary-General's report on his mission of good offices. As a country of the region, Romania considers that efforts aimed at the reunification of Cyprus should continue. During the past month, there have been considerable advances towards a much better perspective for a solution to this longstanding problem. As stated in paragraph 81 of the report, "A new fluidity has developed in the interaction of the players." There have also been encouraging positive developments between Greece and Turkey; and probably the most important is the message sent by the Turkish Cypriots in favour of reunification.

All these elements can gradually improve the situation on the ground and create conditions conducive to renewed efforts. The responsibility for the continuation of efforts lies primarily with the leadership of the two communities. We need strong leadership and goodwill from all parties, as well as a sustained focus on the part of the international community, in order to reach a feasible solution to this longstanding issue.

The European Union played a major role in the recent attempt to end the division in the island. We hope that the European Union will continue to be the same driving force in the pursuit of the goal of the reunification of Cyprus.

Regarding the recommendations included in the good-offices report, we will support further action by the Council to encourage positive steps forward for Cyprus as well as any measure by the European Union or other international players aimed at promoting reunification and goodwill on the island. An incentive in that respect could be the removal of unnecessary restrictions and barriers for the Turkish Cypriot community, with due regard for resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984).

We would nonetheless like to caution against any rash steps that could upset the delicate balance in Cyprus.

The President: There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.